

PEACE NEWS

No. 235

DECEMBER 13, 1940

2d.

Touching The Mark

£40 7s 8d for the Fighting Fund this week, bringing the total to £982 1s 11d. That makes it morally certain that we shall reach the £1,000 mark by Christmas. But please carry on beyond that—with a rush.

One who is perhaps the best loved member of the PPU writes: "This Dec. 6 issue strikes me as being quite remarkable. In its criticism the paper is unique at the present moment, and quite invaluable. DO SEE somehow that it comes into the hands of near-pacifists, sympathetic MPs, Friends, and the Church-leaders."

Help us to do that among the other things.

Please make all cheques, POs and money orders payable to Peace News Ltd and crossed "a/c Payee", and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

THE FREEDOM OF THE AIR

THE action of the BBC in cancelling a broadcast by the Glasgow Orpheus Choir, of which Sir Hugh Robertson is the conductor, because Sir Hugh is a known pacifist is a sinister sign of the advance of totalitarianism in Britain. Sir Hugh was officially informed that "by order of the Board of Governors no person known publicly to hold pacifist views on the war should be allowed to broadcast, that this decision had been arrived at as the result of the outcry about broadcasts given by Mr. Middleton Murry, and that if he (Sir Hugh) had by any chance changed his views on the war the matter would be reopened."

The cases are very different. A year ago Mr. Middleton Murry broadcast his views on "Europe in Travail." The invitation was not of his seeking, and he spoke under the auspices of the Department of Religion. Moreover, he was at pains not to obtrude his pacifist views. He gave as objective a picture of the situation as it was in

NEXT WEEK

we shall publish a special
CHRISTMAS NUMBER

which will be particularly suitable for wider distribution. See John Cowling's suggestions on page 4.

his power to give. No-one, we understand, was more surprised than himself to discover that the talks were popular; but so they proved to be. And had not the collapse of France rather too quickly justified his general estimate of the situation, there would probably have been no outcry at all.

But, given the alarm and apprehension which followed the French collapse, it was only to be expected that Mr. Middleton Murry should be warned off the air. A much more ominous suppression followed a month or two later when Canon Raven was forbidden to give sermons that had been arranged. Canon Raven's distinction as a Christian minister went for nothing. Under cover of the broad principle that no person known publicly to hold pacifist views on the war should be allowed to broadcast, a significant step was taken toward the nazification of the preaching of the Christian gospel. No interpretation of the Christian gospel, no view of Christian obligation, which conflicted with the nationalist view that the war must be fought to victory could henceforward be put before the people by wireless. We think that at this point the Religious Department of the BBC would have done well to close down. It was now in a radically false position, in which it could not do otherwise than propagate nationalism in the name of Christianity.

Not because there are not thousands of Christian priests and ministers who sincerely believe that it is a Christian duty to fight this war to victory, or the bitter end; but

(Continued on back page)

A CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT writes an

Open Letter to the Prime Minister

Dear Sir, — I am writing to you as one of the thousands of bewildered Englishmen, of no political party, who would like you to tell us exactly what we are fighting for, instead of what we are fighting against—i.e. tyranny, cruelty, lust for power, etc.

Until a few days ago, we have had no lead at all, but at long last both you and Mr. Butler have given us rather more than a hint as to what your idea of a future world is to be, and we are rather alarmed at what we read into your statements.

First of all, Mr. Butler informed us that we could not make peace at the expense of France, because it would lead to a German domination of Europe, and that "IT WAS NOT THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO TOLERATE SUCH DOMINANCE"; and, secondly, you, at the opening of the present parliamentary session, said that as soon as victory was ours (1) our former liberties would be restored to us, and (2) we should then return to those parliamentary institutions which (in your own words) "have so far served us so well."

NOW, let us examine these aims in detail. Let us take Mr. Butler's statement first, and think back to 1924, when the French Government decided to march into the Ruhr in an effort, once and for all, to crush Germany. The policy of the British Government then was exactly the same as that advocated by Mr. Butler today, with the exception that in the former case, French imperialism was thwarted, and German passive resistance encouraged, while today the reverse is the position.

In other words, put quite bluntly and nakedly, we are apparently fighting to maintain the bad old policy of the balance of power. This policy, as you no doubt well understand, depends ultimately on the perpetual enmity of France and Germany, this enmity being fostered and encouraged by the British Foreign Office, whose duty it is always to back the weaker side, whether justice lies there or not.

The part assigned to the smaller nations in this monstrous game of misery and deception is to act as pawns, sometimes to be forced into unwilling alliance with one group of Powers, sometimes to be absorbed by another.

No, a thousand times no, never must we return to, let alone fight for, such an infamous policy conceived in jealousy and reared in hate, a policy which benefits only the international financier, with his attendant swarm of dictators, politicians, generals and admirals.

NOW, let us consider the two aims proclaimed by you, which, on analysis, seem to be even less satisfactory. Firstly, you talk of giving us back our freedom.

May it be said, with all due respect to your high office, "stuff and non-

sense". You cannot hand back what never existed. If the word "freedom" means anything at all, it means liberty and leisure for the individual to do what he likes, when he likes, so long as he does not cause harm or inconvenience to other members of the community.

This country, before the war, included a vast number of everyday working people who, having no leisure worth talking about to do anything that was really worth while, spent the whole of their working lives labouring for some public or private corporation. The ordinary common people of this country were no more free than the ordinary common people anywhere else in the world were free.

A small remnant of the population had indeed abundant leisure, which the law allowed it to abuse at the expense of the rest of the community. This state of affairs was possible because these few people were permitted to sell part of their accumulated right to leisure for cash, and either send this abroad in the shape of émi-gré capital, or spend it at home in luxury and license. This policy resulted in robbing the masses of all real freedom.

Do you really wish to return to this outworn, unfair and fundamentally rotten system of license, misnamed liberty?

If you do, I venture to suggest that the people of this country do not.

NOW, let us examine your proposals to return to Parliamentary government as practised prior to the outbreak of war. You may feel that you are on safer ground here, because some form of government, by consent of the people governed, is, of course, a principle with which we are all in agreement, just as we all want a Europe at peace and true liberty for the individual.

But are you sure that we, the common people, really want to return to an organization of our civic and political life which sometime in recent years forced you yourself, in your wrath, to rise in the Mother of Parliaments and ask the then Foreign Secretary if there were not three distinct foreign policies all being pursued by different groups in the Government at the same moment, and this at a time when decisions vital to the peace of the world were being taken?

Do you wish to see again a bewildered electorate forced to vote for men they know not and for measures they cordially detest, because some party headquarters foist on them a party hack who will later vote for any infamy hatched in a city board room or

trade union club, rather than risk the loss of his place and seat at Westminster?

Are you not aware that our present system of government is so antique, and so incompetent to carry out the purposes for which it was originally created, that no government, as a government, dare deal with such an important question as the reform of the divorce laws because it cannot risk the loss of the religious vote to its own particular party. The question of such a fundamental reform must be left in practice to the hazard of the efforts of a private member.

I say, no, a thousand times no; we must have something better than this.

TO sum up, we people of England demand and require a new and better parliamentary system than the present one. We wish also to be rid of the old Europe with its political pattern based on the policy of the balance of power.

When we speak of freedom we do not look forward to a state of affairs which allows a sovereign State to maintain its own armaments and its own trade barriers, neither do we wish to return to a system which means slavery for the many and license for the few.

Man, with the help of his machine, has triumphed over Nature; freedom is ours for the asking. We demand, in the name of humanity and common-sense, that this freedom, which is our heritage, shall be handed to us all impartially now, and not in some vague and distant future.

This is our programme and this is our aim. We have no desire to return with you to a past for which you apparently crave, but which we can only contemplate with shame and abhorrence as the evil progenitor of the present blood bath.

Lifting The Food Blockade?

The following remarkable report was published—apparently exclusively—in the "Daily Mirror" on Monday.

WASHINGTON reports that Britain has agreed for a quantity of foodstuffs to pass the blockade to France to save young children from malnutrition.

Supporters of Hoover's food for Europe campaign are jubilantly predicting that Britain will soon give way to the pressure for the lifting of the blockade.

A new organization named the National Committee for the Five Small Democracies has started a campaign to persuade Britain to permit foodstuffs to be shipped to Finland, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Poland.

A rival group, led by 25 outstanding American women, has appealed to the nation to ignore the Hoover plan for feeding the enslaved countries.

A later report, however, says that Lord Lothian has stated that the British Government has rejected plans sponsored by private organisations in USA to send food to German occupied countries; but that medical supplies will be allowed to pass.

A 'PACIFIST COMMENTARY'

EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

IT may be my propensity to wishful thinking which inclines me to single out as the most remarkable event of the past week the appearance in The Times (Dec. 5) of a leading article entitled "The Two Scourges," in which the writer accepts our fundamental thesis that the root-cause of modern war is unemployment.

The connexion between unemployment and war is not fortuitous. Seven million unemployed brought Hitler to power. He rewarded them by finding them employment in preparation for war. Today millions of workers in more than one country are learning the dangerous lesson that nothing creates regular and well-paid employment, and makes labour a scarce and valued commodity, so certainly as war. So long as it remains true that war and preparation for war is the only effective remedy for unemployment, wars will continue however cunningly the machinery devised to prevent them. Any new international order will be stillborn so long as this cancer is not eradicated from the social system.

That might almost be Peace News itself. The writer goes on to point out (as we have pointed out) that an infinitesimal fraction of our present sacrifices made in 1930 would have sufficed to avert the unemployment crisis.

Wave of Selfishness

THAT fact has more than a theoretical importance. The present composition of the House of Commons really derives from that blind refusal to make a tiny sacrifice for the unemployed. The Conservative party, of which Mr. Winston Churchill is now the leader, was swept to its preponderance in the House of Commons on that wave of selfishness.

Though he does not mention these things, I fancy the Times writer has not forgotten them, although he says that "these sacrifices were not made because they were not called for by any political leader." That is more than an understatement. The political leaders were engaged in calling upon the nation not to make the sacrifices, but to let the unemployed make them instead. Nevertheless, the conclusion

Remarkable "Times" Leader : : Down to Root Causes : : Can Churchill Plan the Peace ?

of the article appears to be aimed directly at Mr. Churchill.

We must plan for peace as consciously and as deliberately, and with the same common readiness for sacrifice, as we now plan for war. It must not be said that we are more ready to risk our lives than our vested interests. The British people will shrink from no sacrifice for a purpose in which it believes. In war it has gladly accepted—indeed demanded—leadership which calls for sacrifice from all. The planning of peace calls for a leader who will have the courage and the vision to make the same appeal.

From War to Peace

THE implication is that Mr. Churchill is all very well for planning war, but we need somebody else to plan peace. The argument is sound as far as it goes; but it does not go far enough, because it assumes that planning for peace is distinct from planning for war.

In theory, the distinction is real, in practice it is illusory. The war-situation is absolutely continuous with the peace-situation, before and after. The mind which plans the war is planning the peace, even though it is quite unconscious of what it is doing. Thus, the suggestion that Mr. Churchill is an admirable planner of war, but somebody else is required to plan the peace, is based on an illusion. Every motion in the planning of war determines the future chaos of peace.

It is a tragedy that a man with the insight of The Times leader-writer does not grasp this crucial fact: for from it it follows inexorably that the effort of any statesman with vision must be to achieve a peace by understanding as quickly as possible. This is the only way to gain some control of the post-war situation.

The Sacrifices Required

IT is conceivable, though not probable, that Mr. Churchill himself has some understanding of this overriding necessity. I do not profess to know the motive of his reticence over war-aims, but it is at least possible that he

is being wiser than his critics. For the proclamation of war-aims on the principles of "democratic nationalism" would be quite disastrous: they would condemn us to go down in ruin to restore a world that never can be restored—a Europe that was archaic and obsolete long before the war burst upon us to prove it.

But there are a few sentences in The Times article which might well be made the basis of a Government statement. After pointing out that Britain since the last war made some real advance towards the establishment of the true principles of an international order in the Commonwealth, the writer continues:—

Internationally, on the other hand, British policy—equally with that of other countries—has almost completely failed to develop this spirit. Much has been said of the need to sacrifice a mystical attribute called sovereignty. But abstractions are dangerous when they serve to mark concrete realities. The sacrifices required are of something more tangible than sovereignty.

No British statesman has hitherto had the courage to oppose a policy advocated by British industrialists or British workers on the ground of the injury which it will inflict on the industries of France or Belgium or Germany, or to reject a measure designed to favour British agriculture because it would spell ruin to the Danish farmer.

Yet there is little doubt that we shall fail to achieve any effective international order, or any alternative to the horror of recurrent war, until we witness some such fundamental change, generally and reciprocally among the nations, in the scale of values. The problem of collective security is not so much whether men are prepared to sacrifice their lives for other countries, but whether they are prepared to sacrifice some of their profits and some of their wages to promote a common welfare in which they will eventually share.

Far East Analogy

A PERTINENT analogy between the situation in China and the situation in Europe

is suggested by a very valuable account of Chinese conditions by Mr. Geoffrey Allen in the Christian News-Letter (Dec. 4).

"The problem of the occupied areas," he writes, "is still acute in China. It raises acute issues between political loyalties and Christian universal loyalties to the destitute, regardless of political creed. It is difficult to get even some of the best of Chinese leaders to recognize a real responsibility for the mass of destitute who are left in the occupied areas. It is all too common to get a subconscious feeling that the coolie is not of real value to the life of the nation; and that therefore the sufferings and death of a few hundred thousand of the bottom class does not really matter or count."

"Yet the masses of the destitute are left in the occupied areas. They need rice, and they need some kind of order and law. If these are not supplied in any other way, they will be supplied by the Japanese. Those whose only consideration is to wonder where their next meal will come from will inevitably be influenced by those who in fact provide their rice."

The Real Heroes

"FOR these reasons," Mr. Allen continues, "I regard as some of the real heroes of the war the handful of Chinese Christian clergy and doctors who have stayed on in the occupied areas to stand by the destitute there."

"It is said rather too easily by Chinese who have removed from the areas that all leaders who stay are puppets and traitors. But there can be and should be a motive to stay and work on in occupied areas out of loyalty to the destitute Chinese. It is however, rare to get any educated Chinese who will agree with this point. Yen-ching is a rare exception, disliked in most of the rest of China, when it keeps university work going under Japanese rule."

The attitude which Mr. Allen justly rebukes is, in reality, precisely the same as that of the democratic ideologues who demand that Marshal Petain should have allowed the Germans to overrun France completely, and have carried on the war from the French colonies. It is an attitude which takes no account of the real sufferings of the common man. And the passionate enthusiasm with which Petain was received in that great home of revolution, Marseilles, shows how distorted is the picture of France which our press presents to us.

In-And Out Of-Parliament

CECIL WILSON writes to tell me that illness kept him away from the debate on the ILP amendment to the Address and prevented him from voting with the minority. Dr. Salter voted for the amendment.

While I am concerned with Parliament, let me congratulate Stanley Seamark on his brave show at Northampton. To have secured 1,167 votes out of 17,754, single-handed, with no public meetings, may appear a small result to the politician, but it is nevertheless a very fine achievement. I think we should help toward that forfeited deposit.

It is worth remarking that the total poll fell from 49,421—a decrease of more than 30,000!

Greco-Italian Peace?

THE Yugoslav press report that M. Serajoglu will shortly meet General Metaxas at Salonika in order to discuss with him terms of a Greco-Italian peace proposed by von Papen, the German Minister in Athens. The Sunday Times (Dec. 8) which publishes the report suggests that the report of Turkish mediation is a German propaganda trick "because the Greeks would obviously think twice of rejecting a German ultimatum if they were sure Turkey was backing it."

But it may very well be that Turkey is backing it. We too readily assume that all is going well for Greece. As against Italy it is. But Greece's flank is horribly exposed. What could Britain do to help her if Bulgaria decides to press her claim to Kavalla by advancing an army?

That is the Greek and the Turkish fear. Therefore it is quite possible that Greek policy is to make peace in close agreement with Turkey as soon as may be after weakening Italy's hold on Albania.

C.O. Inquiry

THE Government regards the report of the Committee set up to investigate the charges of ill-treatment of COs in a camp near Liverpool "as a very important matter." That is at least reassuring and may reconcile us to the fact that the Secretary for War must be given plenty of time to consider the report, which is a long one, and reached the War Office only in the last week.

BOOKS WANTED

To the Editor of Peace News

We write on behalf of a community of forty COs, engaged in forestry work under the auspices of the International Voluntary Service for Peace.

Brought by force of circumstances into safe and peaceful surroundings and, unable to share in the sufferings of our fellows, we feel the need all the more urgently to employ our leisure in study and discussion of modern problems, so as to prepare ourselves as far as possible to take our part in building a new world after the war. But we find a difficulty in purchasing books and pamphlets for study and as material for discussion, since our earnings are pooled and each volunteer receives only 1s. a week spending money (the remainder paying for our keep, some dependants' allowances, and contributing to a food distribution scheme run by IVSF in the bombed areas in London).

May we therefore appeal to your readers to help us by sending any material for discussion and study such as "Penguin Specials," "Pelican" books, etc. as they can spare? Gifts of such cheap but useful books would be very welcome and would be most gratefully acknowledged.

JAMES T. BRADLEY, Leader.
MAURICE M. SCHOFIELD, Convener.
Discussion Committee.

Esthwaite Lodge,
Hawkeshead, via Ambleside.

The Futility of War

A powerful plea to the Government to consider where this war is leading us was made in the House of Commons on November 26 by Mr. Rhs J. Davies, the Labour member for Westhoughton, during the debate on the King's speech. We publish the extracts below particularly as the press virtually ignored this contribution in favour of the ostentatious maiden speech of Mr. Randolph Churchill.

THE common people in our country are a growing feeling among them that all is not well with us.

I do not know how far that feeling is reflected in the House. The trouble is that if you deliver a speech that is critical of this Government, you are straight away regarded as an enemy of our country. That is a very strange and discreditable attitude to adopt. I venture to suggest that if all regulations against free speech and a free press were abolished in this country tomorrow, the Government would be astonished at the amount of criticism that would be levelled against them and against their conduct of the war.

The most astonishing thing of all that has happened recently is this: His Majesty's Government has recognized what they call in diplomatic language the de facto annexation of the Baltic States. No wonder people are bewildered. We are fighting Germany for taking Sudetenland and other patches of Central Europe and we are trying our best to make friends with Russia for doing exactly the

same thing. Quite frankly, I cannot understand the mentality that treats the capture of one territory as annexation and that of another, by exactly the same process, as aggression.

FUTILE PROPAGANDA

There is nothing that better proves the futility of war as an instrument for the settling of international problems than the propaganda and communiques issued by both sides. The following is a paraphrase of both German and British communiques—you will read it in some of the newspapers almost every day:

There have been some air-raids. Few casualties, small damage; hospitals, churches, children's homes, and working class dwellings destroyed, but no military objectives affected. Ten enemy planes brought down, two of ours missing.

That is the sort of stuff we get on the wireless and that is what they get on the wireless in Germany too. Unless I am gravely mistaken, there is no intelligent man or woman in Europe who believes a single sentence of the propaganda of either side. I do not draw very much of a distinction, by the way, between the people of the various countries who do this sort of thing.

TURNING TO STALIN

If this terror and slaughter of innocents by night proceeds very much longer in Europe, the one man who will win this war will be Stalin. I hope the House will forgive me; I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet; but if this misery grows—and it is growing all over Europe—and famine, pestilence, and disease result, I see no alternative but that the whole of the industrial workers of Europe will turn away from all orthodox organizations and follow Stalin because he has secured a victory without firing a single shot.

This brought a retort from the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, and a fellow member of the Labour Party, Mr. Montague—one which many pacifists have

RHYS J. DAVIES tells the House of Commons

had hurled at them from time to time: "What would you do?"

Mr. Rhys Davies, in his reply, urged upon the Government the necessity of giving some clear indication of their aims.

The Government would do well (he said) to enlighten the people of Europe by making a statement of what we are actually aiming at in this war.

One would imagine that bombs, ear plugs, gas-masks, shelters, and underground tunnels were all that mattered in this war. But what matters in this war is capitalism, Rumanian oil, Swedish ore, gold in America, Danzig, the Sudeten, Austria, tariffs, the Ottawa Agreement—those are causes which, until they are removed, will allow no possibility of peace in Europe. It is to these questions that His Majesty's Government should direct their attention.

TRUE

PATRIOTISM

The highest kind of patriotism is that a man should exert all his influence against the plunging of his country into war. And when a patriot finds his people suffering as they are suffering now, he does his level best to extricate them from the holocaust.

I said before that I am speaking for myself. There are millions upon millions on the continent of Europe in those dark dens at night, in shelters and in tunnels, who will be asking, in the language of the Bible, "How long, O Lord, how long?"

Before another 12 months have passed there may be millions more in this country, in Germany, and in other countries too wanting their Governments to understand what I have always said about war: that it settles nothing, and that the sooner war as an instrument of policy is abandoned the better it will be for all the ordinary people of the world.

All who can should read this speech in full in "Parliamentary Debates" (Hansard), Vol. 367, No. 2 (obtainable through newsgagents) and should write to Mr. Davies at the House of Commons (S.W.1.) to give him their encouragement and support.

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We regret delay in despatching orders owing to calendar mounts being destroyed in transit by air raid. All orders should be despatched during next week.

He Got Everything

MR. Attlee, making the Government reply in the debate on the ILP peace amendment, accused Mr. Maxton of not facing the difficulties.

"He comes to us and says: Will you go into a conference? A conference means that the other side must come in. Why does he not go to Herr Hitler and ask him to come in? Other people have been to Herr Hitler, other people who were better pacifists than anybody in this house. Our old friend George Lansbury, an apostle of peace if ever there was one, went round to plead with Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, but he got nothing from them."

Nothing? "I got what I wanted," George Lansbury said on his return from his interview with Hitler in April, 1937.

He secured from Hitler a statement of his willingness to attend a conference to thrash out economic problems if President Roosevelt or the head of any other great country would take the lead in calling it. The conference was never called.

John Barclay asks

WHERE DO YOU RESIST?

AS I stood on Rugby station last week surrounded by soldiers—most, I thought, civilians in uniform—I understood why there are angry murmurs of revolution in the air. We were all tired—tired of Rugby station in the first place—and tired of being tired.

The soldiers' talk was different from the talk of the last war; then it was on two subjects only—women and wine. Now it is the same as in civilian life—bombs, Hitler, and the rest. Everybody is tired of war, which is not the same thing as saying that they are tired enough to stop it.

Max Plowman in his article in the October Adelphi argues that unless we do stop bombing we shall make the world unfit for human habitation. Unless each one of us takes on the personal responsibility of stopping it by a full resistance to it at whatever point we are able to exert that influence, we shall cease to have the right to call ourselves human beings.

The change that is taking place in the army is just this—each man has ceased to be a part of the machine and is struggling to retain his human shape. He is revolting against the diabolical necessity that he calls War. It is this revolt of which we hear the sound.

The pacifist within the group is sheltered by a warm fellowship, but on Rugby station the full blast of a gale is blowing. Pit yourself against this and you soon test the strength of your powers of non-violent resistance!

In the East Gandhi is gathering his people together. We in the West have an equal task to perform. Only by the most rigorous self-discipline and complete integrity shall we succeed in overcoming the violence of the coming revolution.

The Good Companions. Charles Stuart whose social welfare group known as The Good Companions used to hold a Christmas party in the East End of London, writes that he is now working in a reception area just outside London and is anxious to carry the spirit of Christmas into the temporary homes of some of the East End folk. Offers of help should be sent to him at 37 Athenaeum Road, Whetstone, N.20.

Sunday, 15th. December at 2.15 p.m.

A MEETING in the Large CONWAY HALL

RED LION SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.
F. A. RIDLEY on The Imperialist Game.
FREDERICK LOHR on the Causes of War.
T. BROWN on the Workers and War.
in the chair: JOHN HEWETSON

Admission Free

A few reserved seats at 6d. Tickets from Freedom Bookshop, 11a Red Lion Passage (Red Lion Square).

P.P.U. Women's Section

WHY INDEED?

—asks—

Sybil Morrison

JUST a year ago, the Women's Peace Campaign held its inaugural mass meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster. Peace News issued a special number dedicated to the support of "the magnificent lead toward peace given by the Women's Peace Campaign." In that number Vera Brittain wrote:

Recently, when asked "why don't women work for peace in the same way as they worked for the vote?" I could only echo, regretfully, "why, indeed?" For I realized as keenly as the speaker that the prospect of war's ultimate banishment would be far more hopeful if democratic women put the same energy into their quest for peace as they once put into woman suffrage.

In that same number of Peace News I myself wrote: "The threat of war and the declaration of war brought an immediate offer of service from thousands of women of all classes. The desire for peace has, apparently, no equivalent urge." Reading that again a year afterwards I echo Vera Brittain's "Why?"

EXPECTATION UNREALIZED

When Dick Sheppard invited signatures from women to his peace pledge he expected such an overwhelming response that he feared it might cause the PPU to be looked upon as a purely women's movement. He was mistaken; there are still far fewer women than men in the PPU.

And so again we are confronted with the question: "WHY?" Why did women not eagerly respond to Dick Sheppard's call? Why did women not work for peace as they did for suffrage? Why do women rush to join in war service and remain unmoved by the need for peace service?

I believe that women have a great part to play, perhaps the supreme part to play, in the elimination of war, and that it is, therefore, of enormous importance to find the

answer to these questions, so that the Women's Section may act with the understanding which engenders confidence and determination and courage.

In the first instance I think there was a misunderstanding in the minds of women as to the meaning of the pledge; they felt that renunciation of war was not their business because they confused war with actual fighting. They did not realize that "I renounce war" is not the same as "I will not fight." It is not a negative, but a positive statement of our belief in our right, our inalienable right, as individuals, to reject what we believe to be evil.

UNAWARE OF RESPONSIBILITY

Secondly, I believe that millions of women in this country are still unaware of their responsibility as citizens. If they can be taught the history of women's work in the past against apparently overwhelming odds, they may, perhaps, realize what women are capable of doing even against the terrific odds of a country apparently united for war.

And what is the answer to the third "Why"? The women who have desired and struggled for equality are able, in modern warfare, to take their place alongside their menfolk in their country's defence. Their patriotism is fired by the idea.

But it was a woman who said, "Patriotism is not enough," and it is for the women who believe that to be true to fire the imagination of their sex in the service of peace, to show them their responsibility, to ask from them a courage greater even than they have already shown in their self-sacrificing efforts for war and their stupendous bravery under the "Blitzkrieg."

Each week under this heading I hope there will be a short article by a woman—Sybil Thorndike, Vera Brittain, Mary Gamble, Ruth Fry, Dorothy Evans, and others perhaps not so well known—and news about the work of the Women's Section. It seems a good omen that the Women's Section of the PPU, on the birthday of the Women's Peace Campaign, starts a weekly column in Peace News and is as vigorous as ever.

News from the Groups

THE increased space being given to news of activity among the groups is obviously meeting with approval.

Those who are active are glad to have recognition, and the less active are encouraged to begin.

There is, however, a desire for more personal notices, and I would welcome short paragraphs discussing possibilities of propaganda or other activities being undertaken by a number of groups. Regional notes would also be very welcome as well as work which is done in connection with Dick Sheppard centres and reports of area meetings.

To be most helpful, would you please let me have your material in my office (6 Endsleigh Street) not later than Monday morning.

J.B.

Special Christmas Bulletin. The Christmas Number of the Northampton Regional News will be ready in a few days.

It includes contributions from Vera Brittain, Stuart Morris, and Middleton Murry, an account of a visit to the PSU in East London, and special reports of PPU activities and plans from all the chief centres of the Midlands, as well as interesting reports from a new pacifist community and a group of university pacifists. The price is 2s. per dozen copies. All profits from sales are to be donated to Peace News Fighting Fund.

Most of this issue has already been sold, but a few dozen copies are still available for orders from Midland or other groups. Orders should be sent without delay to J. M. K. Studholme, 24 High Street, Olney, Bucks, and should be accompanied by payment.

Godalming. This is a small but active group and has always pulled its weight. Besides helping with maintenance of COs, it sends regular contributions to Headquarters and to PSB and yet always manages to have something in the till. Peace News is sold by a local newsagent at Bramley and copies are distributed by one of the members to all the group. Semi-private meetings are held from time to time and a bi-weekly club is run for refugees. The group has lost the services of Miss Nancy Eastwood by removal, but all intending members can get in touch with Miss Mary Mobbs, Grosvenor Cottage, Grosvenor Road, Godalming.

Chester is getting busy and meetings are held in the small room behind the Friends' meeting house. Peace News can be delivered to all those who notify Kenneth Brooks, 5 Cable Road, Saltney, Cheshire.

High Wycombe meets every Sunday evening at Friends' meeting house, 25 London Road, and all pacifists are welcome. Every 4th Sunday (coinciding with the full moon) a special meeting is being held, to which an outside speaker will be invited. High Wycombe is now very full and many new members or sympathizers may want to get in touch with the secretary, Lionel H. Jowett, 6 Terry Road, High Wycombe.

Sheffield. The result of a recent inquiry into the possibilities of forming a Pacifist Service Unit in Sheffield was rather disappointing but there is a strong feeling here that they ought

not to let difficulties stand in their way any longer. All interested should write to the Dick Sheppard Centre, 30a Change Alley, or call, mentioning any qualifications they may have for the work. Information as to who have motor cars, motor-cycles, and pedal cycles would also be useful. There is already a Pacifist Service Group at work in Sheffield.

East Bucks. The first conference of the East Bucks Region was held on November 9 in the Friends' meeting house, Amersham. It was a real success, despite bad weather and difficult travelling conditions; more than 80 people from six groups attended during the two sessions.

In the afternoon, under the chairmanship of Denis Davis, President of the Regional Council, there was a lively discussion of selected resolutions previously submitted by each group. Subjects included non-violence, co-operation versus competition; the People's Vigilance Committee; and the Government's peace aims. At the evening session Cecil Wilson, MP was in the chair and told them about pacifism during the last war as well as about what he and a few others are trying to do inside and out of Parliament in this one. An address was then given by Wilfred Wellock on "The function of creative pacifism in the present crisis." He analysed the situation on the lines of his valuable articles in Peace News, and emphasized that the creation of centres of spiritual resistance to the coming totalitarianism was the urgent need.

Birmingham. Members interested in a Birmingham pacifist service team are invited to get in touch with T. G. Ayre at Dick Sheppard House, 36 Holloway Road.

Note. Several people have written to me in connection with Basil Martin's death. They and others will be glad to know that there are copies of his autobiography, *An Impossible Person*, on sale at PPU Headquarters (at 5s.).

Pacifists in the Labour Party. A pamphlet has been published by the Labour Pacifist Fellowship in response to numerous requests for a statement of its aims and objects. Entitled *Should Pacifists Stay in the Labour Party?* It is obtainable from William C. Elliott, 36 Reigate Hill, Reigate, Surrey, at a penny, or 9d. a dozen, postage extra. In the main article the Rev. A. D. Belden (who is prospective Labour candidate for Lowestoft) declares that "we remain in the party because on no account must it be surrendered to war".

In order to eliminate war we must remould our world. Our method involves for each of us the remoulding of our part in the world. Therefore, if war should come before we get far on our way, we need not be discouraged, for we will not have failed. We will keep our pledge. We will still have our material to work on, and our method for remaking the world will be just the same and can carry on as before. We merely didn't get started soon enough. The method will still be valid. —Training for Peace, by Richard B. Gregg. (PPU, 6d.)

Sir H. Robertson on BBC Ban

The following is the full statement issued by Sir Hugh S. Robertson on the banning of his broadcast by the BBC.

THE Glasgow Orpheus Choir, now in its 36th year, has a very large and a very devoted radio public. Its broadcasts are valued not only for their entertainment and educational value, but for their quality and spirit as well. All this the BBC knows and does not deny. It was as a result of pressure from this outside public that the present position arose.

For some time we had noticed a definite reluctance about arranging broadcasts. As an example, our London concerts of last April were passed over for the first time since the early days of broadcasting; we had never been asked to broadcast to the troops; nor had we even been consulted as to contributing to the Scottish half-hour. There were other signs which need not be gone into here.

As a result of correspondence on the subject, I was invited to talk matters over at a meeting at Glasgow headquarters. At this meeting, Mr. Dinwiddie (Regional Director) informed me:—

(1) That by order of the Board of Governors, no person known publicly to hold pacifist views on the war would be allowed to broadcast.

(2) That the decision had been arrived at as a result of the outcry about broadcasts given by Mr. J. Middleton Murry.

(3) That if I had, by any chance, changed my views on the war, the matter could then be re-opened.

In effect, I replied:—

(1) That I had not changed my views.

(2) That my views were my own business, and affected neither the BBC nor the Orpheus Choir, as far as my musical work was concerned.

(3) That the choir was a musical and definitely neither a political nor a sectarian body, and that the great majority of its members did not even share my views.

(4) That there was no analogy between the broadcasting of a speaker and that of a choir, since a speaker was (or should be) expressing a personal point of view, whereas a choir's business was to sing.

(5) That I deprecated strongly this attempted interference with the liberty of the subject.

(6) That I declined to accept the finding of the Board of Governors, deeming it both dictatorial and unjust, especially unjust to a body of singers with a long and honourable public record, as well as to the hundreds of thousands of listeners in Britain and overseas to whom an Orpheus broadcast is an event of the first importance.

(7) That the Board of Governors, as public trustees, had taken an action contrary to the spirit of their trust, and that I was prepared to carry the matter to the bar of public judgment.

On the more immediate personal side, I wish to add an incident that I regard as particularly painful because of its lack of courtesy. I was engaged by the Irish (Eire) Broadcasting Board to give three lecture recitals with songs. These broadcasts were to be radiated, by the courtesy of the BBC, through the Glasgow studio at Athlone. The work was thoroughly prepared by me, and the singers coached; and the broadcasts had been widely announced.

On August 19, within eight days of the date of the first recital, I received a letter from the Director of Broadcasting in Dublin, regretting that studio facilities in Glasgow were not available. Later, Eire applied to Glasgow for fresh dates, Glasgow again declined. It is now clear that the declinations on the part of Glasgow were governed by the London decision.

There are the facts. It remains to be seen whether public opinion is strong enough to make the BBC realize that in Britain we still enjoy liberty of conscience, a right maintained, even in war-time, by the supreme authority of Parliament itself.

A Story of Non-Violence

The Records of Senelder. By Rosa Waugh Hobhouse. (C. W. Daniel) 1s.

This is the story—told in the manner of the 18th century—of Tharna, the King of Senelder, who was converted to non-violence, and was murdered; and of his son Meccrad, who reigned after him and followed, with some hesitations, the same faith. It tells of his successes and his failures, and of the divided mind of his people, up to the time when the young king dies by an accident, leaving an infant son.

At that time Senelder is being invaded by the armies of a neighbouring king whose trust is in the sword. In its confusion, the kingdom of Senelder returns to armed defence, and appoints a soldier regent; but in vain. "For they who were already making war in their own way would hear no orders, and they who had refrained from using their strength in battle refrained still for the love of Christ."

So Senelder falls under the strong hand of Sarac. "Where men rose up to resist, her towns and villages were laid waste. And even those places which remained peaceable were filled with armed men; yet in these was no blood shed."

Then those who followed the faith of Tharna obeyed the counsel of Jeremiah. They built houses and planted vineyards; they married and begat children, and they sought the peace of every place wherein they were held in bondage and they prayed for it. Though they were scattered the power in them could not perish.

The scribe of the chronicle draws the lesson:—
The Kingdom of Heaven cannot be created fully formed, but is likened to a mustard seed. Therefore must it be sent abroad in the hearts of men before it can become manifest. The sceptre of power cannot establish it, not even the sceptre of a wise king.

This little book makes an admirable Christmas present.

An Air Marshal Looks Ahead

SPEAKING to the Royal Empire Society in London on December 3, Air Marshal Sir Philip Joubert said (referring first to the use of aeroplanes in warfare):

It seems so senseless: you have a really useful method of getting to know your neighbour, and all you do is to use it to knock him about and to knock his house about.

Where are we tending? Is the future always to be like this? When this war comes to an end and we have peace on our own terms, are we going on with aviation as this most brutal and unpleasant weapon?

There seem to be two methods of escape. Either we have got to abolish aviation altogether or we have got to see that it is never put to the same use again.

LACK OF TRUST

A lot of people in the last war had similar ideas, and we have seen how ineffective they were. We were neither able to abolish aviation nor were we able to stop its being misused.

Most English people would say that if the air weapon were kept in our own hands we would use it well. But as a quarter-Frenchman, my immediate reaction is, "Are you English to be trusted?"

I am not sure. I think we might get some jingoist people in this country trying to use their power. But it is in the hands of the people and I hope also of the USA and those redeemed countries of Europe, that will lie the future.

WHEN PEACE COMES

It is up to us, I think, to prepare our minds very carefully so as to be sure that when peace comes we put the right people into the job of making peace, and keep them there. And that we do not have any second-raters—people who do not even know their geography—framing a peace into which is written vindictive terms not possible of fulfilment. We must use the air as it was meant to be used, as a blessing rather than as a curse.

Referring to the idea (to which he admitted he succumbed himself in his "fits of exasperation") that the only way to deal with Germany was "to break her up into small bits, giving parts to Austria, parts to Russia, and other countries, so that she could never combine again in Europe," Sir Philip concluded (says the Daily Express Air Reporter):

"That is the easy way out. But I have not reached the age of 53 without realizing that the easy way out is a fallacious one."

Freedom of the Air

(Continued from page 1)

because those who are known to hold the pacifist view have been silenced. Thus, the only kind of Christianity which the millions hear over the air is the kind which, for good reasons or bad, is propaganda for this war.

Against being edged into such a position the Christian Church in Britain should have protested as a body. It should have seen the danger and been forearmed against it. But, alas, it was not even conscious that it was a danger. What else is the Church for if not to propagate nationalism in the name of Christianity?

With the proscription of Sir Hugh Robertson, the development takes a different turn. Whereas the lecture of a Middleton Murry or the sermon of a Charles Raven might, and probably would, turn men's thoughts in a direction divergent from the national war-effort, the singing of Sir Hugh Robertson's choir could not possibly do this. The new principle that "no person known publicly to hold pacifist views on the war should be allowed to broadcast" is now straining to the utmost limit. In such a context, to "broadcast" is naturally understood as to speak over the wireless: its extension to conducting a choir is forced and arbitrary. But the purpose is obvious: to prevent the pacifist from having access to the public in any capacity by means of the radio. No matter how valuable the skill and knowledge he possesses, he is forbidden to put them at the service of the people, unless he recants his pacifism.

This is Nazism; not in potentiality, but in actuality. In Canon Raven's case the State forbade all Christianity but its own; in Sir Hugh Robertson's it forbids all music save that of its own ye-men. The fact that the wireless is but one medium of expression must not deceive us. The wireless is by far the most influential means of expression in a modern society; in particular, it is the technological instrument without which modern totalitarianism would be impossible and which, unless it is administered with a very keen sense of moral responsibility, makes totalitarianism inevitable.

Since our leaders have been familiarized with the argument that totalitarianism is inevitable, they may ask "Why worry?" But there are degrees in totalitarianism. And it is vital to the spirit of Britain that we should have as little of it as possible. The indispensable condition of this is that freedom of the wireless should be treated by its administrators as the most important form of freedom of expression today. That there are great difficulties in the way of realizing this freedom no-one who has thought seriously on the matter will deny. The trouble is that the Government does not think seriously about it at all. It is concerned only with Britain's "survival": it has not the energy, or the imagination, to think what kind of Britain will survive.

The only full and correct report of the

J.L.P. CASE IN THE PEACE
— CONFERENCE DEBATE —
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NEW LEADER

Send 2½d to 15, Windsor Drive, East Barnet, Herts, for a copy, or 2s. 6d. for a copy weekly for 12 weeks.

NEWS OF C.O.s

Tribunal and P.S.B.

THE Scottish Appellate Tribunal recently reversed the decisions of the Glasgow Tribunal in the cases of two PPU members.

One had been exempted on condition that he engaged in agriculture or forestry; the other had been put on the military training register. Both were granted exemption by the Appellate Tribunal on condition that they undertook to serve with the PSB. The applicants—David Gibson, of Lenzie, and Hector Munro, of Stepps—had already applied to join the Bureau and were awaiting vacancies.

Another Scottish PPU member, Alec Kirkwood, of Glasgow, who had been ordered into the forces, was recently granted complete exemption by the Appellate Tribunal. The chairman, Lord Elphinstone, whose judicial manner is exemplary, expressed the hope that he would continue his work with the PSB.

DISMISSAL OF CO's

Benjamin M. Smith, of Poynton, an applicant who was in a reserved occupation on the staff of Manchester Corporation treasurer's department told the Manchester Tribunal on December 3 that he could not accept reservation because the corporation had decided to dismiss all men registered by the tribunal as conscientious objectors; if he did not appear before the tribunal he would be evading the penalty inflicted on his fellow-objectors.

The chairman said there had been no case in which there was stronger or more conclusive evidence. Two witnesses had tried to give evidence of sincerity, but their evidence paled beside the significance of his own action.

He was registered unconditionally.

The chairman took the occasion to criticize again the action of certain individuals and authorities which he had already described as "looking like defiance of Parliament."

Another such local authority is Wood Green Borough Council, which has now definitely decided not to employ COs. And when the question again came before Wiltshire County Council (which some months ago turned down a proposal to sack COs), on November 27, it was decided by 52 votes to 17 "that the council delegate to the Finance Committee the power of dealing on its merits with the case of each conscientious objector on the staff of the council."

Anglesley Education Committee decided on December 5, that objectors be asked to leave the service of the authority for the duration of the war, and that applications for re-employment after the war should be considered on their merits, having regard to the war service the applicant had performed.

How They Resist In U.S.A.

"**WE** who are at peace can surely afford to be as humane as are the British in the midst of a fight for their very lives," declared Frank Olmstead, National Chairman of the War Resisters' League, of USA, in a statement on the sentencing of eight theological students to prison for refusing to register for military service (as reported in Peace News on November 22).

The statement pointed out that the American conscription law does not provide for the absolutist pacifist, so that "those who felt that they could not co-operate in the slightest with the law, which is wholly a military measure, had no alternative but to refuse to register." The WRL declared its belief that "it would be both wise and just for the President of the United States immediately to commute these sentences."

STATEMENTS IN COURT

At their trial the defending lawyer stated that none of them asked for leniency, but said it they were sentenced to a year and a day, they would avail nothing to impose severe sentences, "as their cases were not those of draft dodgers." Maximum penalty being five years, and after their release they will be ineligible to vote or hold public office unless they receive a remission of sentence or a Presidential pardon.

They were given chances in court to recant and are still free to apply for a reduction of sentence if they decide while in prison to register. Their

statements to the court, however, were completely uncompromising. But they were also markedly restrained and free from any trace of contention, relying almost entirely on their sense of "a greater compulsion than manmade law—the word of God."

GROUND'S OF OBJECTION

An objector who registers receives, on request, a special form on which he "shall offer information in substantiation of his claim." A memorandum of advice on this addressed by the War Resisters' League primarily to those of conscription age states:

The most difficult single question for any of our WRL members may be... "Are you a member of a religious sect or organization?"

Since mere membership in a church in itself is insufficient, in the same sense there is a possibility that mere enrolment in the War Resisters' League would also be insufficient evidence of conscientious objection to war. We have good reason to believe, however, that a broad interpretation of the word "religious" will be considered. We consider that genuinely active membership in the League should be taken as equivalent to membership in a church, and we hope that the Government will accept this interpretation.

A deep conviction clearly stated and closely adhered to may definitely be interpreted as religious. Therefore it is both proper and essential for those of us who are not members of churches and synagogues to answer the question... "yes", wholly on the basis of membership in the War Resisters' League.

Circulation Notes

Use Our Christmas Number!

By John W. Cowling

THE special Christmas number of Peace News, to be published NEXT WEEK, will provide a great opportunity for PPU groups to bring the paper to the notice of non-pacifists, particularly professing Christians.

Although final details are not settled at the time of writing, it will include the words and music of a carol of peace, as well as articles by prominent pacifists. To think of Christmas as a festival of peace may seem a tragic irony this year, but that very fact will, I think, make many people more responsive than usual to our message.

At a meeting of the Barnet regional executive which I attended on Sunday plans were laid for the distribution to selected people of 500 copies of this special Christmas number. Though time is short, other groups may wish to do likewise; therefore we will charge groups only 9d per dozen, instead of 1s 6d per dozen, on all quantities of the Christmas issue ordered for this purpose (postage extra). So you have an opportunity at a bargain price!

One word of warning: due to the paper shortage, we may have to ration these extra supplies to groups—it depends upon the response to this offer. If this is necessary, it will be done in direct ratio to each group's normal order.

Finally, please let us have your order for the Christmas issue by Monday if at all possible, or by first post on Tuesday at the very latest. This is vital if our printing arrangements are to go through without a hitch. Late arrival of orders may mean disappointment; if your order is a large one, it's worth sending a telegram to make sure!

May I remind you that a subscription to "Peace News" makes an excellent Christmas or New Year present. See rates on this page—or send us any sum, with name and address of recipient and we will do the rest.

Street-selling: I have left myself no space in which to print the report from a Holborn street-seller which I promised last week. I hope, however, to be able to deal with this fully before the year is out—and to have street-selling experiences of my own to report!

FORWARD MOVEMENT

PUBLIC MEETING

PEACE AND GOODWILL - AND WHY NOT?

SPEAKERS

ETHEL MANNIN
DONALD SOPER

MIDDLETON MURRY
FENNER BROCKWAY

R. W. SORENSON, M.P.

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ACCOMMODATION

ACCOMMODATION with pacifists (full board) urgently required by young CO; Liverpool or district. Box 610, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

DICK SHEPPARD CLUB, 254, Harrow Rd., Paddington, has accommodation for working COs; 30s and 25s full board; also at 15s for sponsored COs giving full time social service to club; practical or domestic experience. Ring BAYwater 5194 before 10.30 a.m.

EDUCATIONAL

LEARN to write and speak for peace and human brotherhood, harnessing artistic, imaginative, intuitive, and intellectual gifts, correspondence lessons 5s. each—Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3.

THORABY, Yorks, is related to a belief that potential living is essentially a matter of learning in a peculiarly sincere way; the Co-Principals invite inquiries at Croft House, Buttermere, Cumberland.

LAND & COMMUNITY

C.O. six months dairy farming, good milker, desires experience arable land; preferably with other pacifists. Box 611, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

C.O. (24) desires join small community or similar group anywhere in Britain. 172 Union Rd., London, E.11.

SAINT-BRIDGET Market Gardening Community, Ashburton, Devon, has vacancy for married couple; minimum weekly contribution 17s 6d each; furnished room available. Caravan also needed April-October, borrow or hire cheaply.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O., 38, urgently seeks work, outdoors preferred, North, consider anything reasonable, adaptable, reliable, experienced. Box 614, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST would be Secretary, Housekeeper, Cook, etc. for lady or ladies in exchange for home; particulars sent. Box 613, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

YOUNG WOMAN, 21, pacifist, Christian, well educated, literary interests, balletomane, desires job anywhere, Oxford preferred. Box 612, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS: Food Reform; Vegetarian Guest House; alt. 600ft; for happy holiday or restful recuperation; central heating, h. and c. water in bedrooms, A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock.

MISCELLANEOUS

A FELLOWSHIP MEETING for pacifists is held each Sunday at 7.45 pm at Friends House, 25 London Rd., High Wycombe, Bucks; all welcome.

CYCLES: Britain's best at £6 15s., carriage paid; every necessary accessory; even to cyclo-meter. Made by over 40 years' established Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

FAMOUS South A. health tea, Yerba Mate, wonderfully sustaining and invigorating; use as ordinary tea; 2s. 6d. lb. post free. Yerba Mate Co., Stockport.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SAFE VILLAGE (villagers mainly PPU outlook), Cotswolds, near Stroud bus route; furnished bungalow, timber, asbestos-lined, water storage, indoor chemical lavatory; no electricity, gas, nor hot-water system; large living-room, 3 bedrooms, scullery, bathroom, porch, storage, cellar, toolshed, greenhouse; acre hedged freehold ground; possession; nearest offer £425 cash. Harris, Whiteway Colony, near Stroud, Glos.

THE PEOPLE'S CONVENTION and Pacifists: read D. N. Pritt M.P. in Month by Month, twopenny post free three months subscription 6d. from the Activist Group, 15, Stanhope St., Manchester 19.

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